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Society of Jesus.

R. SMITH.



OXFORD:
G. BRIMPTON, TULIP STREET.





THE SOCIETY OF JESUS,
FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER TO ITS
SUPPRESSION IN 1773.

ARNOLD PRIZE ESSAY, 1871.

By Richard Smith, B.A.,

Balliol College, Oxford.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—General View.

CHAPTER II.

Regimini Militantis Ecclesie.—First Members of the Order.—Ignatius Loyola.—*Exercitia Spiritualia*.—Loyola's Religious Ecstasy.—His earliest Disciples.—First vow.—Scheme submitted to the Pope, and approved.

CHAPTER III.

The Jesuits under Loyola.—First operations.—Rapid progress.—Opposition in France, Spain, and Portugal.—The Order securely established.—Its position as left by Loyola.

ERRATA.

- PAGE 15, line 5, for "tills" read *still*.
" 59, note, " "Tiroboschi" read *Tiraboschi*.
" " " " "declive" " *decline*.
" 85, line 29, " "Le Chaise" " *La Chaise*.
" 86, " 12, Do. Do.
" 94, title " "New Identity" read *Non-identity*.

Literature, its abundance and shortcomings.—Want of originality.

CHAPTER IX.

Asiatic Missions under Acquaviva.—Chinese Missions.—Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest.—Expulsion of the Missionaries.

CHAPTER X.

Jesuit Missions in Paraguay.—System of Government in the Reductions.—Civil and Military Regulations.—Results of the System.

CHAPTER XI.

Decay of the Generalate.—The Confessor Royal of France the real Head of the Order.—La Chaise.—Letellier.—Political intrigues.—Delusive appearance of prosperity.—Personal distinctions sought.—Increasing wealth, and its effects.—Social prestige.—Luxury and ostentation.—Loss of original vigour.

CHAPTER XII.

Pombal.—Paraguay ceded to Portugal by Spain.—Armed resistance of the Jesuits.—Clement XIII.—Jesuits expelled from Portugal, France, Spain, and Naples.—Ganganelli elected Pope.—The Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.—Obstinacy of Ricci.—Fall of the Order.—Its necessity.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—General View.

CHAPTER II.

Regimini Militantis Ecclesie.—First Members of the Order.—Ignatius Loyola.—Exercitia Spiritualia.—Loyola's Religious Ecstasy.—His earliest Disciples.—First vow.—Scheme submitted to the Pope, and approved.

CHAPTER III.

The Jesuits under Loyola.—First operations.—Rapid progress.—Opposition in France, Spain, and Portugal.—The Order securely established.—Its position as left by Loyola.

CHAPTER IV.

Missionary enterprise.—Xavier.—His travels and success.—His character.—Want of permanent results.—Importance attached to Baptism.

CHAPTER V.

Francis Nobili.—Change of method.—Toleration of Caste.—Great but superficial results.—Maillard de Tournon.—Conflict with the Papal authority.—End of the Indian Missions.

CHAPTER VI.

Interregnum.—Laines elected General.—Jealousy of Paul IV.—Charges of Immorality.—Activity of the Order.—The counter-reformation.—Operations extended to France.—Borgia.—Mercurianus.—Decline of French Protestantism.—Change in the Order.

CHAPTER VII.

Acquaviva.—Mutiny of the Spanish Jesuits.—Growth of French influence.—Internal changes.—Southern Germany won back to Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.

Education.—Rapid rise of Jesuit schools.—Protestant educationalists.—Jesuit system of teaching.—Its influence.—Conflicting judgments of critics.—Jesuit literature, its abundance and shortcomings.—Want of originality.

CHAPTER IX.

Asiatic Missions under Acquaviva.—Chinese Missions.—Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest.—Expulsion of the Missionaries.

CHAPTER X.

Jesuit Missions in Paraguay.—System of Government in the Reduccions.—Civil and Military Regulations.—Results of the System.

CHAPTER XI.

Decay of the Generalate.—The Confessor Royal of France the real Head of the Order.—La Chaise.—Letellier.—Political intrigues.—Delusive appearance of prosperity.—Personal distinctions sought.—Increasing wealth, and its effects.—Social prestige.—Luxury and ostentation.—Loss of original vigour.

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Pombal.—Paraguay ceded to Portugal by Spain.—Armed resistance of the Jesuits.—Clement XIII.—Jesuits expelled from Portugal, France, Spain, and Naples.—Ganganelli elected Pope.—The Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.—Obstinacy of Ricci.—Fall of the Order.—Its necessity.

CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTORY.

B

INTRODUCTION.

From the time when the Reformation reached the extreme limit of its early progress to that in which the influence of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists became predominant in Europe, the "Society of Jesus" holds a prominent place in both political and ecclesiastical history.

Both in its period of growth and in its decay, the Order is marked by rapid and decisive changes. First, with little apparent probability of success, an enthusiast whose spring-time of life had been passed in the profession of arms was brought to feel that religion was the one important end of life. Turning with his whole soul to the church and reverencing its visible Head on earth, he was indignant to see the wretched condition into which the Pope and the ancient Roman Church had fallen; and animated by this feeling, he gathered around him a few kindred spirits, resolved to oppose as far as in them lay the tide of strange doctrines, and to do battle throughout the world against every foe of the

Holy See. Soon appears the outline of a well-organized system, which while it treats the individual merely as relative to the order of which he forms a part, and makes the inferior as implicitly obedient to his superior's behests as a stick in the hand of a man, nevertheless gives scope for the exercise of the most varied talents. The results of this organization quickly succeed: the practical and speculative theology of all Roman Catholic Christendom bears the impress of Jesuit teaching; education throughout more than half of Europe is entirely under Jesuit control: the confessions of princes and ministers pour into Jesuit ears the secret intrigues of every court; while Jesuit missionaries preach the religion of the Cross in the remotest lands. Their influence extends to India, China, and Japan; they are accepted by the people of Paraguay as guides and rulers in religion, morality, civilization, and government. Then, when it might have been thought that the General of the Order was just about to realize that dream of universal empire at which Charles V. had vainly grasped, symptoms of feebleness and decay began to show themselves. The same society which in its period of youth and vigour had stood forward in opposition to every assailant of the Papacy, became itself a source of weakness to the authority of Rome. That order which, at the time of its institution, had been more effective than any other cause in restoring purity of morals to the licentious court of the Vatican, was succesfully assailed on moral grounds. No longer engaged in a life-and-death struggle with heresy, the

Jesuits were charged by the most pious and devoted members of their own communion with the systematic inculcation of equivocacy and fraud. Their system was shown in an odious light, as tending to degrade humanity, and to substitute an outward conformity for spiritual religion. Their confessors were accused of conniving at every description of crime, and of suggesting a ready excuse and promising a perfect immunity from the penalties of sin to every criminal, if he would but seek absolution from them, and accept their spiritual directions.

In vain the civil power was enlisted on their behalf; in vain the inmates of Port Royal were driven from their home, and the walls which had sheltered them levelled with the ground; the outward splendour of external prosperity, and the succour of a luxurious court were of no avail to ward off or to reverse the judgment of public opinion. Discredited in the estimation of the world, and suffering from internal decay, the Jesuits could offer but a feeble resistance to the assaults of the Sceptics. Every touch of raillery, every dart of sarcasm inflicted a wound on their declining system, which, despite all its seeming grandeur, was but like a tree rotten at the core, and ready to fall at the pressure of a gentle breeze.

Though bereft of its moral power, Jesuitism still continued to exist as a political institution, but statesmen had been taught to regard the Jesuit as a dangerous rival instead of as a confidential guide. To guard against the jealousy thus engendered the greatest caution was

needed, but the conduct of the Jesuits was that of infatuation. They were not disposed to abandon any part of the influence which their order had acquired. The expression of their last general* was but a statement of their universal feeling. They were equally opposed to a diminution of their external splendour, and to internal reform. The course of Jesuitism had been a steady onward movement towards wealth and dominion, and the spirit of Jesuitism would admit of no retrogression. The statesman and the Jesuit were therefore compelled to come to an issue; and in that conflict, the existence of the society was at stake. It was a struggle between an almost obsolete institution, and the expansive tendency of humanity, and therefore could only end in one way. First from France, then from Spain, and shortly afterwards from every country of Europe, the Jesuits were driven. Finally as the sanction of one Pope had been at first given to their association, a bull of another Pope ordered the dissolution of their society.

With the scanty remnant which survived in remote parts where the Papal authority was of little weight, and with the restored Order for which they formed a nucleus, it is not the province of this Essay to deal. The suppression of the Order in 1773 was the natural termination of a system, which like a plant had gone through the successive inevitable stages of growth, maturity, and decline.

* Sint ut sunt, aut non sint

To bring into prominence the main features in the organization as founded by Loyola and developed by his successors: to show the mutual connection and the reciprocal action of its various parts: to discover the causes by which Jesuitism first extended its power on every side, and was at a later period driven from its vantage ground and trampled in the dust: to distinguish real connection from mere sequence in the various events by a careful scrutiny of the facts, is the object aimed at: not merely the construction of an ingenious hypothesis; but the deduction, from what actually occurred, of the laws under which the Society was moulded into the shape which it assumed, and by which it was impelled in its progress to greatness and to its fall.

The truth of history has perhaps suffered even more in connection with the career of the "Society of Jesus" than with regard to any other subject. Apart from the misrepresentation resulting from partiality and hatred, the theories of two antagonistic schools have done violence to the facts.

The biographical method of Stephen can never really explain the course of events. It is equally impossible to give a satisfactory account of the facts without giving prominence to the personal influence of Loyola, Xavier, and Acquaviva, and examining the character and motives of Pombal and Choiseul. The truth does not lie in either extreme. Though it is often hard to detect the silent forces at work, it is plain that events so momentous are not merely casual and dependent on individual caprice. It is equally clear

that in the "Society of Jesus" as elsewhere, men of strong character have left their impress behind them in the institutions with which they have been connected.

Since the latest events with which it is here proposed to deal, nearly a century has elapsed, and the whole subject can therefore be looked upon from a purely historical stand-point. We are not so far removed from the period as to be unable to appreciate the motives at work; we are not so near but that the whole may be seen in true historical perspective.

CHAPTER. II.

REGIMINI MILITANTIS ECCLESIAE.

THE bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiæ* issued in the year 1540 by Paul III was the first public recognition which the Papacy accorded to the "Society of Jesus". It is there described as an association formed by Ignatius de Loyola, Peter le Fevre, James Lainez, Claude le Jay, Paschasius Brouet, Francis Xavier, Alphonso Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Coduri, and Nicholas de Bobadilla; persons dedicated to the service "of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of us, and other our successors," for the purpose of instructing boys and other ignorant persons, of hearing confessions, and of entering on the task of converting the heathen. The society is formally admitted under the protection of the Apostolic See, with authority to receive new accessions until the number of members reaches sixty, beyond which limit it is not to proceed. For its future

government and direction, powers are given by the same Bull to draw up constitutions.

The organization to which the Papal sanction was thus given did not show much novelty on the surface; there was certainly little to indicate that it would one day become a mighty power in the world, and the main-stay of the Papacy. It seemed to be only one more added to the list of monastic orders; and one too which, from the scanty numbers to which it was restricted, was not likely to be of much importance. That limitation, it is true, was withdrawn after three years had elapsed; but the avowed objects and method of the Society remained unchanged. The conversion of Jews and Heretics, the reclamation of immoral persons, the instruction of the young, and the hearing of confessions, had long been the traditional occupation of pious Catholics, whenever they devoted themselves to the service of the Church, without secluding themselves within the walls of a monastery. The importance which the "Society of Jesus" ultimately obtained must therefore be attributed to other causes; first, to the spirit which it borrowed from the personal character of its founders, and the epoch at which they commenced their operations; later, to the working of the Constitutions which they drew up, and the traditions which guided their successors.

Conspicuous above all by the concurrent testimony of friends and foes is Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order. To some uncompromising protestants he appears as a monster in whom bigotry and fanatical zeal were

strangely compounded with insincerity and boundless ambition. They conceive him as the incarnation of all that they regard with aversion in the institution which he originated. To Jesuit writers on the contrary, and to lovers of the Jesuits like Cretineau, he is the noble instrument chosen by Heaven to conquer and trample down the hydra of heresy; raised up to repel the impious assaults of Luther, as Dominic and the Holy Office had been formerly sent to overthrow the Waldenses and Albigenses. The accounts which remain of his life do not seem to lend much support to either theory. While there is much that is extraordinary in his character and actions, there is nothing superhuman. He seems indeed to have been a sincere enthusiast, unwearied and resolute, and of immense organising ability; nor is the comparison which Macaulay suggests between Ignatius and Wesley altogether fanciful.

Though an early training at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the profession of a soldier were not calculated to turn Loyola's attention seriously to religion, there is little reason to imagine that his life was at any time as scandalous and impure as it has been described by some authors. A severe wound, received while bravely defending Pampeluna against the French, first caused him to reflect on the vanity of military glory and the real importance of religion. While confined to his chamber his reading passed from the romantic exploits of Orlando and of Amadis de Gaul to the no less wonderful lives of the Saints of his Church, the founders of monastic orders. From that time he

was filled with a desire to emulate their devotion and their services to Heaven.* Though his wound was eventually healed, his leg remained permanently deformed; his career as a soldier was at an end, and the future course of his life was determined. Thenceforth he was a penitent whose hopes were fixed beyond the domain of courts and armies. His military spirit was not destroyed, but its direction was changed. He was resolved to follow no standard but the Cross, to wage a truceless war on heresy, to combat with the evil spirit under every guise. Therefore abjuring his past life and its enjoyments, he hung up his sword as an offering to the Virgin-Mother at Mont-serrat; he retired to the wild solitudes of Manresa to reflect on the blackness and enormity of his sins. Like the saints whom he took for his example, he wore a rough and neglected garb; his vigils extended the whole night through; his body was worn with fasting and lacerated with the scourge.

Of this stage in the career of Ignatius, the "Spiritual Exercises," (his sole literary work) are the reflection. Still highly valued in the Roman Catholic Church as a practical manual of devotion,† the book

* The words of Loyola are preserved in the *Acta Antiquissima* (quoted by RANKE vol. I, p. 183,) "Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus, quid si hoc quod beatus Dominicus?"

† A sort of miraculous character is frequently assigned to the work. "Though the Saint was at that time unacquainted with learning any further than barely to read and write, yet the work is so full of excellent maxims and instructions in the highest points of a spiritual life, that it is most clear that the Holy Ghost supplied abundantly what was yet wanting in him of human learning and study.—ALBAN BUTLER, vol. VII. p. 195.

Non tantum intrepide enuntiant, sed etiam solide probant, pias has S. Ignatii

is interesting to us for the vividness with which it displays the zeal by which its author was actuated, his deep sense of sin, his intense contrition of heart. Intended as a guide for the penitent when turning from the view of the world, it is pervaded by a spirit not altogether alien to that of Gersen, of Bunyan, or of Wesley. The first object sought is the cleansing of the conscience and the correction of the natural affections. To serve God and be saved is represented to the soul as its final cause; as the one end compared with which all else is of no account. Next by repeated contemplation of the life and perfection of Christ, the soul is to be trained first to love and then to imitate him. Then, still fixing the eye on Christ as our example, we are taught to regard him as an example of suffering, and by earnest reflection on the privations and sorrows of our Lord, we are to accompany him both in spirit and by actual imitation in his fasting and temptation in the wilderness, and in his agony in the garden; to realise the pains of his scourging, and of his suffering on Calvary. Only when the soul has been thus prepared is a thought of comfort to be allowed admission; only then are the glories of the risen and ascended Saviour, the splendour of Heaven, and the triumph of the Saints to be thought upon and felt in anticipation. Thus, gradually, by abstraction from thoughts of earth, by a

commentationes fuisse digito Dei conscriptas, unctione Spiritus S. dotatas, a beatâ Virgine dictatas; denique a Paulo III, ne apice quidem mutato, quoad omnia et singula in eis contenta, et quidem ex certa scientiâ nutu pontificio approbatas, collaudatas, ac bullæ patrociniis communitas.-BELLECIIUS, *Exercitia S.P. Ignatii* p. II.

Yet Bellecius did not scruple to alter the form of the work.

close view of eternal truths, by a full consciousness of the hatefulness of sin, the soul must pass to real faith in a Redeemer, and the sure hope of a blissful eternity.

By such means was the mind of Ignatius at Manresa filled with religious fervour. Often, in the darkness of his cell* would he cast himself on his back or on his face; he scourged himself regularly thrice a day; he rose up at midnight to pray, and when he retired to rest, the bare ground was his couch. Sometimes his sins would rise before him unpardonable. Like Luther, he often thought that he perceived unearthly powers engaging for or against him in his struggle with sin, and inspiring him with good or evil thoughts. Under the sway of an imagination disproportionate to his intellect, he accepted as messages from above, all the visions and inspirations which gave him pleasure; all those which were painful, he supposed to arise from Hell. He believed that he saw Christ and the blessed Virgin in the flesh revealed to his eyes, the mystery of the Creation disclosed in mystic symbols, the Godhead and the Manhood displayed in their unity before him. His heart was a battle-field in which the hosts of Heaven were arrayed against the legions of darkness. It was with his soul

* It has been frequently stated on insufficient authority that Loyola's abode at Manresa was a natural cavern.

"As early as the year 1606, belief prevailed in the sanctity of a cave at Manresa where it was said the *Exercitia Spiritualia* of Ignatius were composed, although neither of the two traditions mentioned a syllable of such a story, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless correctly, that the real cave of Ignatius was in their Monastery."—RANKE, vol. III, appendix, p. 199.

The two traditions alluded to, are the notes of Polancus and Consalvus.

thus living in religion alone; a religion not of the understanding, but of the feelings and imagination that he determined to devote his life to the conversion of infidels, and with the Pope's blessing sailed for Jerusalem. Though compelled to return, he was still resolved to preach and to teach; no difficulties were too great to be overcome; even imprisonment on a charge of heresy did not daunt him.

He felt however the inadequacy of his learning and resolved to remove it; and accordingly, at Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris, he applied himself diligently to the study of grammar, philosophy, and theology.

Two of his companions at Paris, Xavier and Le Fevre, became his first disciples. Sharing with him rooms in the College of St. Barbara, they submitted themselves to the charm of his manner and the superior force of his character. They mutually influenced one another. The fire of zeal was kindled in them by contact with him, while their higher attainments in the learning of the schools assisted him in the course of his studies and gave method to his purposes. Together they lamented the general decay of piety and the progress of the new doctrines of Germany: together they formed vast but as yet scarcely definite schemes for restoring the whole world to Catholic unity in subjection to the See of Rome. Animated by an earnest purpose and unwavering faith, they could not fail to extend their principles to others, and their first decade was completed before their association had received any sanction from epis-

copal authority, or been placed under a settled code of rules. Quixotic in the highest degree their earliest views appear to have been, when assembled at the abbey of Montmartre they first bound themselves by a common vow. They swore upon the Host to go to the Holy Land and preach the gospel to the infidels; or if that should prove impossible, to place themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the Pope for any service to which he might appoint them. On that occasion they first assumed the name of the "Society or Company of Jesus."*

When, however, in pursuance of their intention, they were about to sail from Venice, the war between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte prevented them; and this incident, combined with the impression made upon Ignatius by what he saw of the Theatins, became the immediate cause of the form which the order eventually took.

That the Theatins were of importance in this connection is certain, and it is not strange that they should have so strongly affected Loyola's mind. They were a society formed by men of high intellectual and moral powers, who had little of the outward show of monastic orders, but combined the practical work of the Church with monastic subordination and discipline. The members of that society, many of whom had been previously associated in a little religious organisation called the "Oratory of Divine Love," spent their lives

* "*Societas*, quasi dicas cohortem aut centuriam quæ ad pugnam cum hostibus spiritualibus conserendam conscripta est."

in the duties of preaching, of hearing confessions, of administering the sacraments, and of succouring the sick and needy : by the purity of their lives they succeeded in winning admiration, and to some extent imitation, from the secular and regular clergy, as well as goodwill from the people. A society, of which Caraffa and Gaetano were members,—men differing widely in every feature of their disposition, yet equally sincere and indefatigable,—could not be ineffective in its operation ; and Loyola, on his arrival at Venice, had the opportunity of seeing and taking part in the work. He then learned that the ideas which had long been vaguely present to his mind had been to a large extent realised in practice before ; and he quickly perceived that they could be so carried out as to produce yet greater and more wide-spread results.

When therefore the project of sailing for the Holy Land had to be dismissed as impracticable, another and a more important resolution was taken.

The members of the Society took together fresh vows of chastity and poverty ; and their leader, accompanied by Lainez and Le Fevre, proceeded to lay his scheme before Paul III. for his sanction and approval. That pontiff, who, like most of the Farnese family, had always been an active politician, and whose character (according to the Historian of the Council of Trent) had much of the dissimulation and cunning which were then deemed among a statesman's highest attributes, shewed at first no strong inclination to allow any increase in the number of religious orders. Already

they were many, and the new interests which rose with them, as well as the abuses to which they were liable, made the Pope hesitate before permitting the formation of another. Ignatius, however, was not daunted by rebuffs and disappointments. Having summoned his followers to Rome, he there disclosed to them the whole of his scheme, and joined them in a vow of perfect and unqualified obedience to the superior who should be elected from among them. This vow was immediately followed by another,—not only to render to the Pope the obedience which was due from every one of the faithful, but specially to do, to the utmost of their power, whatever he might think fit to command.* Recruits so willing and so promising could no longer be refused when the Reformation was in the zenith of its course. At last, after three years of delay and anxiety, Ignatius obtained from the Holy See, that bull of incorporation by which his society first gained a regular and acknowledged existence.

* Quamvis Evangelio doceamur et fide orthodoxâ cognoscamus, ac firmiter profiteamur, omnes Christi fideles Romano pontifici tanquam capiti ac Jesu Christi vicario subesse; ad majorem tamen nostræ societatis humilitatem ac perfectam unius cujusque mortificationem, et voluntatum nostrarum abnegationem summopere conducere judicavimus, singulos nos, ultra id commune vinculum, speciali voto abstringi, ita ut quicquid Romani Pontifices pro tempore existentes jusserint, quantum in nobis fuerit exsequi teneamur.

CHAPTER III.

THE JESUITS UNDER LOYOLA.

THERE could be no doubt as to the claims of Loyola to be the first general of the newly established Order. The unanimous vote of his brethren placed him at their head; and it is impossible to suppose that his avowed disinclination to accept the dignity was more than conventional, especially as his vote does not appear to have been given for another. After consulting with his confessor, he at last declared his reluctant acquiescence in the choice; and no sooner was he installed in office than the vigour and power of the Society began to be displayed. Though the headquarters of the General were at Rome, the forces under his command were scattered far and wide,—failing not in the presence of opposition, undeterred by danger.

Ignatius himself laboured with unceasing diligence; by his efforts there arose in Rome hospitals for the sick and homes for the fatherless. Asylums were established like that of St. Catharine, where poor but

virtuous girls might be safe from temptations to dishonour ;—institutions, like the Convent of St. Martha, where the door of escape from ruin was open to the fallen. Thousands in Rome soon learned to regard both the General and the Order which he directed, with veneration and awe. Yet, though works of charity, which are good and necessary at all times, and in harmony with the whole spirit of Christianity, were vigorously carried on ; it appeared to Loyola that the time and circumstances in which he was placed required other remedies far more urgently. Regarding the authority of the Holy See as the very corner-stone of Christianity, he saw that authority everywhere assailed, and the doctrines long recognised as resting on a foundation of infallibility, passing into contempt and oblivion.

The Order of St. Dominic had stamped out the heresy of Waldo by the aid of the rack, the faggot, and the wheel ; and now that other heresies, bolder and more palpable, were being everywhere disseminated, it seemed to Ignatius that the plan which had proved so successful before should be restored. He held it an object of supreme importance to obtain the establishment of the Inquisition at Rome ; and, with that end in view, joined his exertions to those of Caraffa. In little more than a year from the time when the generalship was conferred upon him, he saw his wishes realised.

The expedient proved very successful. The new tribunal being free from the restrictions of legal

formality, and possessed of universal jurisdiction, spread terror everywhere among the disaffected. While the bolder innovators perished as martyrs to their principles, the more timid sank into unquestioning submission. The books by which the seeds of doubt had been planted in the popular mind were vigorously sought out, and expurgated or destroyed. To supply their place a host of writers, mostly Jesuits, came forth and assailed the new opinions with every weapon which the arsenals of controversy could supply. The tide of opinion turned. In fact, there is reason to think that though the more highly educated part of the community were at the period inclined to favour a scheme of internal church reform, there was little intelligent acceptance of the doctrines of the Reformation among the mass of the people. They were disposed to go with the winning side; and could consequently admire and sympathise with the energy and perseverance of the newly formed Order.

Small as was the number of the Jesuits, their activity made them ubiquitous. While Bobadilla maintained the interests of the Society at Naples, Lainez and Le Jay were preaching and intriguing in Germany: Le Fevre, who had preceded them there, was engaged at Madrid; Xavier and Rodriguez were at Lisbon, but regarded that city only as a starting-point for their voyage to the far East; Salmeron and Brouet were sent with secret orders from the Pope, and special instructions from the General, to Ireland.

Their impassioned preaching, their ostentatious humility, their contempt of danger, everywhere attracted large numbers about them. They were constantly occupied in celebrating masses, in hearing confessions, in granting indulgences. The preaching friars were compelled to bestir themselves in order to avoid disgrace by an obvious comparison. Throughout all the South of Europe, the Jesuits became regarded as the champions of the Church, winning the esteem and the powerful aid of kings. Jesuit colleges were quickly raised in Italy, in Spain, and in Portugal. That of Coimbra, the first of the series, was founded by John III. in 1542. Charles V. extended his protection to the Society throughout his wide dominions, and his cousin Francis Borgia was admitted to the Society. In every considerable town of Spain, and in every German state that adhered to the See of Rome, houses and colleges were built for the Jesuits.

The commanding position thus attained was only won after formidable opposition had been encountered. In France, the combined efforts of the Paris Parliament and of the Sorbonne baffled all the schemes of Loyola during his life: in Spain, the jealousy of ecclesiastics made the position of the Order precarious, and threatened to procure its expulsion. The foremost assailant was the Dominican Melchior Cano, whose bitter invectives long prevented the establishment of the Society in Salamanca. To escape from his attacks, they procured for him an offer of the Bishopric of the Canaries. The device however was of little avail;

no sooner did Cano discover the motive which had led to his promotion than he resigned his mitre, the more effectually to oppose the Jesuits. His antagonism to them ended only with his life. The Augustinian friars of Saragossa instigated the people to assail the Order with violence. The University of Alcala and the Archbishop of Toledo shewed equal animosity. Not content with laying under interdict the Jesuit College at Alcala, the Archbishop instructed his Clergy to exclude all its members from the administration of the sacraments, and prohibited the people from confessing to a Jesuit under penalty of excommunication. The firmness of Loyola's disposition was required to meet the peril, and proved equal to the emergency. He summoned the Archbishop before the Royal Council in Spain, and by the aid of Charles succeeded in putting an end to his active hostility.

The dangers which threatened the order in Portugal were of a totally different character. There, the Society had been demoralised by the prodigality with which John III. had showered wealth upon its members. Their first and principal establishment at Coimbra became notorious as the seat of luxury and excess. The Society fell in the opinion of the court, and lost at the same time the veneration of the people. The supreme power of the General was required to put an end to the irregularities which prevailed; and it was applied with complete effect, Rodriguez, whose character was perhaps the weakest among the ten first associates, was superseded by another provincial: many members

were expelled from the Society; the remainder did penance by whipping themselves in public. The discipline of the Society and its reputation for sanctity were thus restored.

Despite all opposition from without, and the appearance of internal dissensions, Ignatius had the satisfaction, before his death, of seeing his order established securely in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany, supported by the Pope and the most powerful catholic princes. The Society had received under his direction its permanent character, and the traditions of policy by which it was long afterwards guided. The Eastern missions of the Society had been begun with wonderful success; the possession of richly endowed colleges furnished the means of entering successfully on the task of controlling education; the conscience of every grade of society had been taught to submit to the directions of Jesuit priests. Margaret of Parma * made her confessions to the General, and among his confidential correspondents were John of Portugal, Albert of Bavaria, Ferdinand of Austria, and Philip of Spain.

The ten who had elected their general in 1540, and whose numbers had been expressly limited to sixty, had increased to eighty before the restriction was formally withdrawn in 1543; and in the year 1556,

* Loyola's office was not merely honorary. "Ad pietatem magno sane magistro usa est, Ignatio Loyola, societatis Jesu fundatore, apud quem expiare a noxiam animam, idque crebrius aliquanto quam ea ferrent tempora, consuevit."—STRADA (Rome, 1653,) p. 42.

when Loyola died, his followers were spread over all the world ; and in the spirit of the constitutions which he had given them were teaching, preaching, and hearing confessions.

CHAPTER IV.

XAVIER.

ALTHOUGH, as has been shewn, the intention of Loyola to devote his life to the conversion of infidels had proved abortive; and his disciples had been unable to carry into effect their purpose to engage in missionary labours; missions to the heathen,—the most attractive sphere for the earnest believers of every creed,—formed one of the chief objects of the “Society of Jesus,” and through the whole period of its existence were maintained with zeal and considerable effect. It was not however among the Mahomedans of Palestine that the Jesuits were destined to carry the standard of Christianity and of Rome: the remotest parts of Asia and of South America were the chosen scenes of their greatest toils and triumphs. It is from these missions that the strongest claims to admiration which the Society puts forward have been derived; nor can it be denied that they give proof of abundant genuine piety,

of self-denial, of patience and of philanthropy, for which the Order has not always, in late years, gained credit. It is true that the missions became eventually a great source of wealth and of political influence; but that result could scarcely have been foreseen at the first; and it certainly did not enter into the calculations of the men who first went forth, with their lives in their hand, to preach the Gospel in the strongholds of Hindu and Chinese idolatry.

The natural bent of Xavier qualified him for the task in which his life was spent with so great success; but the immediate cause of his departure is to be found in the policy of Portugal. The settlements made by that nation at Goa, and elsewhere in the East, laboured under great disadvantages on account of the determined repugnance of the natives to the whole European system of government, religious and civil. From motives of state policy therefore, at least as much as from motives of religion, John III. applied to the Pope for missionaries to undertake the conversion of India. The new Society, which Loyola was then zealously seeking to establish in favour with the Pope, seemed exactly suited to perform the duty; and the Pope accordingly asked for six of the members. As however, at that time, the Order had not received even a formal sanction, and the dismissal of more than half his disciples on foreign service would have been equivalent to destroying the now matured project of Ignatius at its birth, two only were offered in response to the invitation.

The original choice of Loyola had fallen upon Bobadilla and Rodriguez; but owing to the ill health of Bobadilla, Xavier was substituted for him; and, as Rodriguez was prevailed upon to stay in Portugal at the wish of the king, Xavier eventually sailed alone to the post of duty and of danger. It would be foreign to the purpose of an essay, though of fascinating interest, to describe in detail the progress of his successful and adventurous mission: yet so conspicuous are the labours and the glories of Xavier, among all the noble chapters of that period of enthusiasm which Jesuit authors of a later age delighted to describe and to embellish, that his personal career cannot be passed over in silence. No sooner had he landed at Goa than he found that his first difficulties lay with the European residents, whose open immorality and shameless avarice filled the Hindu population with a natural and not unjustifiable hatred of the religion which they professed. For twelve months Xavier's work did not extend beyond the Portuguese in the town of Goa. In every scene of pleasure, of sorrow, and even of vice, he was present, and everywhere his influence was felt. His wonderful versatility made him equally welcome to every grade of society,—even among the frequenters of the gambling-house and the brothel. Instructing the children in the schools, comforting the sick and dying in the hospitals, visiting the prisoners in the gaols, he appeared as the steadfast friend of the poor and suffering. Making use of his interest with the Viceroy, he

left his impress on the whole system of government, and softened the harsher features of the laws.

Leaving Goa for Malabar, where he mastered the difficulties of the language, he gained the hearts of the wretched pearl fishers of the coast, and won their assent to the religion of the Cross. They could not, it is true, understand the doctrines which the stranger had come to teach, but they regarded his substantial proofs of good-will as an evidence that his creed was right though to them unintelligible. Never since Apostolic times had results, numerically so important, been obtained. In thirteen months, we are told, forty-five churches of converts were founded by Xavier. Amid all the exaggerations and mythical stories with which our accounts are disfigured, it is clear that his success was proportionate to his zeal and prudence; and never was either quality exhibited in a higher degree. His travels were incessant: from Cape Comorin to Travancore; thence to Meliacore, to the Moluccas, and to Malacca he went in succession, and everywhere his hearers and disciples were counted by thousands.*

But Hindustan was not wide enough for his exertions; and as he was soon enabled by the arrival of other missionaries to resign to them the care of his Indian churches, he set out to make further conquests in the remoter East. In Japan he soon gained a footing,

* It is the *results* which are the really surprising part in the story of Xavier. The florid rhetoric of Stephen with regard to his labours would be applicable to many other missionaries. His adventures were at least equalled by those of Moffat in the South Seas, and will not bear comparison with those of Livingstone.

and not only made proselytes of many of the poorer sort, but baptised some of the Bonzes themselves into the Catholic faith. He cherished a desire to carry on the same work of christianising the heathen in China, and actually arrived within sight of the coast. But his life was cut off too soon for the accomplishment of his purpose, and the task of introducing Christianity into the celestial empire was left for others. It is not requisite to believe the reality of all the miracles assigned to the "Thaumaturgus of the East" * in order to admire the character of Francis Xavier. His memory must always be held in reverence by those who can sympathise with purity of intention, and the enduring self-sacrifice of Christian benevolence.

Yet, however much we may be disposed to admire the virtues and fortitude of Xavier and his successors, it is impossible to rely upon the voluminous accounts

* According to ALBAN BUTLER, following Jesuit authorities,—"As the saint was preaching one day at Coulon, a village in Travancore, near Cape Comorin, "perceiving that few were converted by his discourse, he made a short prayer that "God would honour the blood and name of His beloved Son, by softening the "hearts of the most obdurate. Then he bade some of the people open the grave "of a man who was buried the day before near the place where he preached; "and the body was beginning to putrefy with a noisome scent, which he desired "the standers by to observe. Then falling on his knees, after a short prayer, he "commanded the dead man in the name of the living God to arise. At these "words the dead man arose and appeared not only living, but vigorous and in "perfect health." It is only fair to say that Xavier is no way responsible for this and similar stories.

The same author relates the miraculous way in which the saint's corpse resisted the corrosive action of the lime in which it was placed for transport by sea. "The "sacerdotal habits in which the saint was buried were in no way endamaged by "the lime; and the holy corpse exhaled an odour so fragrant and delightful that "the most exquisite perfumes came nothing near it."

of their missions which are our sole authorities. The sentence of Macaulay is perhaps more epigrammatic than just *; yet the chief part of the assertions with which we are met must be set aside on internal evidence. As we read of the tens of thousands baptised by individual missionaries, we are prepared for the belief that the influence of Christianity was felt throughout the whole of the East, and left a permanent impression on the Oriental mind; or, at all events, that the strength of the old heathenism must have been broken. Had Christianity in any true sense been accepted by the millions of India and Japan, we cannot conceive that the withdrawal of foreign missions should be at once followed by the utter extinction of the churches which they had founded. Many miracles are alleged to have been wrought in order to win the heathen to the Catholic Church: yet, supposing their conversion to have implied an intelligent acceptance of Christianity, to have put the religion so implanted to a sudden end would have required a miracle far more remarkable. It would be possible, though laborious, for one man to perform the rite of baptism on a thousand people in a month; it would not be possible to teach half the number the fundamental principles of Christianity. There are many indications, however, that this was not aimed at so much as the administration of baptism; and when we hear that one woman, whose occupation gave her special opportunities, “con-

* “Writers compared with whom Lucian and Gulliver were veracious, liars by “a double right, as travellers and as Jesuits.”—ESSAY ON MACHIAVELLI.

verted " ten thousand children, we are able in some degree to account for the enormous numbers claimed as the fruit of Jesuit missions. It was not, however, till a later period that to make men *nominally* Christians, almost without regard to the doctrine or practice of Christianity, became clearly their chief end and aim.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS AND EXTINCTION OF THE INDIAN MISSIONS.

THOUGH, even while Xavier was living, the Indian mission had been strengthened by the arrival of twelve other Jesuits and by the foundation of colleges for native students, the progress of its work soon became less decisive. The powerful influence of ancient habits and long association, the peculiar modes of thought and action (resulting partly perhaps from climate, partly from hereditary instincts) which at this day form the chief obstacles to the Christianising of the world, proved equally insuperable to the Jesuit missionaries of India. Their labours were earnest and unremitting, their reward was not proportionately great. Not for fifty years was there such increase in the number of converts as would bear comparison with the work of Xavier; nor was the result then obtained without the application of fresh means. It was with the arrival of Francis Nobili in 1606, that the change was made,—a

change of great importance in the history of the Order. Previously, while no pains had been spared to place the truths of Christianity in such a light as would be most likely to engage the oriental mind, there had been no attempt to conceal the unity of the Church in Christ, or to reconcile the Christian life with the traditionary practices of Heathenism. But now a different system was inaugurated. A religion which addressed itself to the humble sinner, which offered rest to the weary, and succour to the helpless, might be gladly accepted by the outcast Pariah, but was scorned by the proud and haughty Brahmins. The result was that the converts were for the most part of the lowest order. Among the Indians of higher rank, it seemed hopeless to expect a general abandonment of the privileges of caste. The method of the missions was therefore so far altered as to allow of caste within the pale of the Church. Nobili himself preached in the guise of a Brahmin, submitting himself to the diet and discipline of that Order, and declaring himself a restorer of long lost Brahminical doctrine.

The missionaries took every precaution to hide their connection with the resident European communities ; all Pariah converts were forbidden to enter any church of the Christian Brahmins ; and the priests connected with the latter dared not bestow on the people of low caste any ministrations of religion, for fear of offending the Brahmins. The one mark of Christianity which was still considered of supreme importance was the sacrament of baptism. For the purpose of administer-

ing this rite as widely as possible, the medical skill of the Jesuits and their servants proved of the highest value. In one of the "Edifying Letters," one woman alone, an accoucheuse, is said to have baptised ten thousand infants on the point of death; and from another of the series we learn that wherever there were neophytes, as every convert knew the formula of baptism, it was rare for any child to die unbaptised.

This turn in the direction of missionary endeavours was naturally followed by great numerical results, as it allowed the convert to retain all the long-cherished customs of the country, while it relieved him from the most painful duties of his old religion. But the hold which Christianity in this form took in the native mind was not stronger than would be naturally expected, and when in 1784 the "Christians" of the Jesuit mission in Mysore were compelled by Tippoo Sahib to choose between Mahometanism and death, there was not a single martyr of the cross, but the apostates were sixty thousand.

How far the form of Christianity may rightly be modified to suit the natural or hereditary disposition of a heathen people is a question hard to solve. It might be generally admitted that the line must be drawn where the essentials of religion are touched; but what the essentials are cannot easily be agreed upon, amid the divisions of Christendom. The Jesuits, it would appear, allowed great latitude on everything else and made baptism the main point; but their method was not left unassailed. Despite the Archbishop of Goa's

opposition in the time of Nobili, they obtained from Gregory XIII., in 1623, permission to allow their converts certain practices, which, to some eyes, had a heathen signification; and for eighty years afterwards they continued in their course of compromise, with a continual relaxation of the rules of life. The congregations of the Mission Churches were numerous, and included many of the Brahmins; but there was little beside baptism and attendance at mass in which they differed from the heathen. The customs permitted at the beginning of the eighteenth century included (as appears from the decree of Cardinal de Tournon), among other things, musical performances at festivals and sacrifices in honour of idols; the wearing of the *taly*, a phallic emblem, by girls after their betrothal; and obscene ceremonies in connection with marriage: and they involved to the fullest extent the recognition of caste.

Although the Patriarch, who had been appointed by Clement XI. to enquire into the state of the mission with full power to correct abuses, found himself compelled to order the abandonment of the system; so necessary did the Jesuits deem the practices forbidden that they left no means untried to obtain a reversal of his decree; and, on failing in that object, to evade its intention. Having obtained a delay of three years on the ground that time was required for the introduction of a stricter discipline, they despatched two of their number to Rome, supported by the opinion of all the missionaries of the Malabar coast. Meanwhile they

caused the Bishops of Goa and St. Thomas to annul the Cardinal's decree of their own authority; and, when he proceeded to China in pursuance of his commission, they used their influence with the Emperor to procure his banishment from the celestial empire, and afterwards caused him to be imprisoned by the Bishop of Macao, in whose dungeon he died.

It was with no little indignation that the Pope heard of the action of the two Bishops, and he immediately published a brief confirming the decree of de Tournon. His reception of the Jesuit deputies, when they arrived at Rome, was cold in the extreme, and their mission was utterly unsuccessful; yet this did not prevent them from carrying back a favourable report. It was asserted in India that the Cardinal's decree had been annulled by the Holy See, and the system was carried on without a change. The evasions and subterfuges which perpetually foiled the efforts of Clement XI., Benedict XIII., and Clement XII., for more than thirty years cannot be brought within the limits of an essay. The Jesuits felt that they were contending for the very existence of their missions, and the reputation of their Order; while the Popes had to maintain not only the moral reputation of their religion, but the supremacy of the Holy See. The plainest orders from the head of the Church, the most stringent oaths imposed upon every missionary, did not succeed in affecting the conduct of the Order; nor was their determination broken until Benedict XIV., in 1742, ordered his stern and uncompromising bull of the

preceding year to be read every Sunday in all their houses, churches, and colleges. Then at last they reluctantly abandoned their position. Deprived of the chief source of their popularity, the Jesuit missions at once began to dwindle and decay; the ill success of the French arms in India took from them their last remaining support, and the churches which had been founded with so much zeal, and sustained with such dexterity of policy, died away like a frail exotic removed into the chill air from the artificial warmth of a greenhouse.

CHAPTER VI.

LAINEZ—MERCURIANUS.

THE war which broke out between the Pope and Philip II. delayed for some time the appointment of a successor to Ignatius; and Lainez, who had been nominated Vicar General until an election could be made, found himself in a difficult position. The stern measures which had been adopted to repress the disorders of Coimbra had not been able to destroy the spirit of insubordination and intrigue among the members of the Order. Rodriguez, Brouet, Gorgodanus, and others seconded an opposition to Lainez, of which Bobadilla was the instigator. They questioned the right of any individual to assume the power which belonged, by the constitutions, to the General alone;—insisting that, until a new election could be held, the government of the Society was vested in the professed

members generally, and not in any one person. They left no means untried to undermine the influence of Lainez, and with that object denounced him to the Pope, as having the intention to remove the headquarters of the Order to Spain. It is not unlikely that there was some foundation for the charge, as Philip then shewed many signs of an inclination to relax the ecclesiastical bonds which connected him with the Papacy. Paul IV. at all events believed it, and nothing could exceed his fury at the announcement; he refused Lainez his request for an interview, forbade all Jesuits to leave Rome, and demanded from the Vicar General a surrender to himself of all the documents belonging to the Society. The wary policy of Lainez enabled him, however, to avert the storm. Bobadilla was sent to reform a monastery at Foligno; Rodriguez and Brouet were won over to the other side; Gorgodanus, the most violent and outspoken, did the nominal penance of saying an *ave* and a *pater noster*.

The conclusion of peace between Spain and the Holy See at length put an end to the interregnum; and in 1588 Lainez was elected second General of the "Society of Jesus," by a vote of thirteen to seven.

The continued jealousy of Paul IV. made the management of the Order by no means easy. The Pope required that the authority of the General should be conferred for a period of three years only; and also that, like the other orders, the Jesuits should keep the canonical hours. Despite their earnest entreaties and complaints, they were unable to effect any change

in his determination, and were accordingly compelled, in opposition to their traditional and constitutional usage, to keep the choral hours. The Pope's death, however, in 1559, released them from the necessity of altering the nature of the General's tenure of office,—the permanence of which was essential to the system; and Pius IV., on his accession, showed himself strongly in favour of the Order. Yet though the new Pope, immediately on his accession, undid the work of his predecessor, Lainez, at the expiration of three years, took the precaution to tender his resignation. The Jesuits, accordingly, expressed their unanimous wish that the power of the Generalate should be held for life.

Meanwhile various circumstances arose which called for the General's interference, and tested at once his prudence and firmness. At Montepulciano, at Venice, and at Milan,* charges of immorality were brought against members of the Order, which tended to reflect disgrace on the whole Society. Lainez proved himself equal to the emergency. The college of Montepulciano was suppressed, the others were reformed. Thus in 1561, at last, the General could congratulate himself on the escape of the Order from all the dangers which naturally arose from an interregnum following on the death of the founder, and from the hostility of a jealous Pope.

His way was at last clear for the renewal of operations, and he lost no time in commencing action. Leaving the management of affairs in Rome to the

* Some particulars are to be found in Nicolini, p. 141, and also in Cretineau whose method of dealing with these instances is highly unsatisfactory.

discretion of a deputy, he proceeded to France, to take part in the conference of Poissy ; and to avail himself, on behalf of the Order, of the changed circumstances of that kingdom. Thence he went to the Council of Trent, where he successfully contended against the temporising policy of the more liberal section. The narrative of Di Sarpi shows how strong was the influence which he there wielded ; and how largely, with the support of Salmeron and Brouet, he contributed to establish the complete subjection of the Episcopate generally to the Papacy.

The General's activity was shared by his subordinates : while maintaining in its entirety their ascendancy in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, they overspread France and South Germany, everywhere combating the doctrines of the Reformation. Vienna (founded in 1551) had been the seat of their first establishment in Austria. Cologne, Ingolstadt, Coblenz, Tyrnau, Mayence, Spires, Munich, Dillengen, became in rapid succession new centres of Jesuit activity.

By 1563 they had spread over the whole of Bavaria, and completely overborne the popular demand for religious concessions, although the influence of a section of the nobles was exerted against them. Preaching wherever a congregation could be collected together they appealed with fervour to the sentiment which still survived in favour of the old religion. They derived also great assistance from Duke Albert V., whom they gratefully glorified as the new Theodosius—the second

Josias. By his help they procured the persecution or the banishment of those whom they could not convince.

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that they did not enjoy a large amount of popularity, resulting above all from their school system. It was commonly reported that a boy could learn as much from the Jesuits in six months as from any other instructors in twelve; and wherever they got the education of a district under their control, they soon spread their influence over the whole tone of public opinion. Hence ceremonies and religious observances which had fallen into disuse, and been abandoned as superstitious, were again introduced; it was once more deemed an honour to wear the rosary; relics were again held in esteem, and exhibited to a reverential populace. The princes of Germany became submissive: the Jesuit Canisius, armed with full powers to excommunicate any opponent, obtained from the diet of Augsburg a full acceptance of the Tridentine decrees. He also induced the Catholic sovereigns to impose on all the universities in their dominions the *Professio Fidei*,—a test proposed by Lainez, and sanctioned by the Pope. It was soon rigourously applied, not only to the professors and tutors but to every graduate. Without subscription, it was impossible to obtain a degree,—even in medicine.

In France, although the opposition of the Sorbonne and of the Parliament of Paris remained, the visit of Lainez had been far from ineffectual. The more zealous Catholics regarded him with veneration: the

44 *The Jesuits in France. Borgia elected General.*

fame of Xavier's wonderful achievements in the East, magnified in the recital, gave splendour to the Order: the course of events in Bavaria seemed to indicate the means by which alone the growth of French Calvinism could be checked. The Guises saw in the Society a means of extending and consolidating their power as heads of the Ultramontane party: the common people were won by the rapturous eloquence of Augier; the scriptural expositions of Maldonatus earned for him universal admiration. By all these means a hold was gained on the mind of the country, which was capable of being made a means to further progress.

Important though the Government of Lainez was to Jesuit history, his death was not succeeded by any change of importance. The system, being now in good working order, with its various parts in harmony, went on without interruption. The third General, Borgia, though he had neither that strength of will, which was the most marked feature in Loyola's character, nor the unfailing prudence of Lainez, was yet a further source of strength to the Society, by reason of his noble birth, and his extraordinary career. The death of a wife whom he had tenderly loved had first turned his attention to religion: and, influenced by Loyola, he had abandoned all his honours, his wealth, and his children, to enter the Company of Jesus. His character and manner of life partook more of asceticism than was usual in the Society: his fastings and penance were as severe as those of Ignatius at Manresa. He was nevertheless a strong supporter of the existing constitutions

of the Society; and perceived too clearly of what importance were its activity and freedom from routine, to yield to the pressure by which Paul V., like Pius III., wished to impose upon the Jesuits the monastic rules of choral hours.

As might naturally have been expected, the system of winning the personal influence of rulers, by whose aid protestant teaching could be suppressed while colleges and schools were placed under Jesuit direction, went on steadily under Borgia. Not content with exhorting all pious sovereigns to extirpate heresy in their own dominions, he engaged directly in political schemes. Thus he pressed the Catholic powers to join Venice in a league against the Turks. He secured for the republic the assistance of Philip; and hence the victory of Lepanto has not altogether unjustly been regarded as the result of his policy. Not only was Borgia on good terms with Philip, his kinsman, but Catharine de Medici gave all possible support and countenance to the Society. The inquisition of Spain showed a full appreciation of the increasing importance of the Order, by approving and publishing doctrinal works of Borgia, which it had nine years before condemned as erroneous.

A change of real moment occurred at the death of Borgia. Though that General had not displayed the energy and determination of his predecessors, he had always kept the direction of the Society in his own hands; but when Mercurianus succeeded him,—a Belgian chosen in order to gratify the Anti-Spanish

feeling of Gregory XIII., the power of the General was confided to others,—first to Palmio, afterwards to Mariana. His eight feeble years of office allowed internal cliques and factions to rise, for the first time since Lainez had suppressed the mutiny of Bobadilla and Rodriguez. Yet by means of its well-devised organization, the Order continued to grow. In 1580 the number of its members reached nearly 6000, and they possessed a hundred and ten houses and colleges, most of which had rich endowments. The chief gains of the period had been made in France, and they were owing not so much to any active proceedings of the Society, as to the course of political and military events. The huguenots were in no fit state to offer any resistance to the Catholic reaction. Their reliance on the sword had been utterly dissipated by the fatal days of Jarnac and Moncontour; and in 1572, the day of St. Bartholomew not only decimated their ranks, but left them without a leader. Meanwhile the Guises were actively working against them. The Cardinal established at Pont-a-Mousson a Jesuit academy; the Duke gave them a college at Eu. Jesuit preachers traversed the country, and rivalled the Capuchins in the work of re-conversion. What proportion of the change is due to the Jesuits, how far it resulted from other causes, cannot be determined; but it is clear that the numbers of the Huguenots steadily and rapidly decreased. According to one authority * (though it is not clear how the computation was made) their

* Priuli quoted by Ranke.

numbers had been diminished, by the year 1580, to the extent of seventy per cent.

In connection with the history of England, the generalate of Mercurianus is interesting from the circumstance that the first attempts to win back this country from the reformation were then made. Previous efforts had been made to gain a footing here; but they had been only spasmodic, and produced no important results. The colleges of Douay and Rheims, as well as the English college at Rome, had been for some time in operation; but they had not yet produced any consequences of importance. It was in 1580, with the mission of Campian and Parsons, that the scheme of overturning the established religion of the country was first seriously made the rule of action.

Looking at the Order of Jesus from the side of its constituent nationalities, there appears a change at this period. The Spanish ascendancy was rapidly decaying; the Order was becoming more cosmopolitan. The principles which underlay its constitutions were being gradually developed; and its organic structure was acquiring strength from year to year. Up to the time of Mercurianus the Society had been in the age of youth; after his successor, Acquaviva, it passed into manhood; and Acquaviva himself marks the period of transition.

CHAPTER VII.

ACQUAVIVA.

ON the election of Acquaviva, a Neapolitan, after the death of the Belgian Mercurianus, the discontent of the Spanish Jesuits was ripened into open mutiny. They seemed to think, and events almost justified their apprehensions, that the government of the Order was passing from their nation for ever.* Supported by Philip they assumed a bold position, refused to obey the General, and demanded the appointment of an independent commissary. Had the outbreak occurred during the feeble government of Mercurianus, it would probably have been successful; but Acquaviva proved as firm as Loyola, and as prudent as Lainez. Winning over to his interest by present favours, and promises of future preferments, as many as were not too deeply compromised, he sent over

* From the time of Lainez to the suppression of the Order, Gonzales, the thirteenth of the series, was the only Spanish general.

others in his own interest to supersede the leaders of insubordination. It was to no purpose that the King and the Spanish Inquisition tried every means to thwart him. He secured the help of the Pope (Sixtus V.) and so baffled all their schemes. The holy office had seized the supporters of Acquaviva, and was about to try them for ecclesiastical offences. The Pope required them to submit the whole case to him, and his language allowed of no hesitation in compliance. "If you do not obey," said he in his letter to the chief Inquisitor, "I will forthwith depose you from your office, and tear from your head the cardinal's hat." Thus the storm was quelled for the time, but the election of another Pope afforded an opportunity for its recurrence. A general congregation of the Society was summoned by Gregory VIII., at Philip's request, from which great hopes were entertained by the Spanish section: but they were completely disappointed. The General retained his power intact; and the few changes in the rules of the Society, on which the Pope insisted, were of but little immediate consequence. Against Acquaviva, no charge of irregularity could be sustained. He passed through the ordeal in triumph, and the Spanish opposition was crushed never to appear again during his generalship. Till 1615 he directed the affairs of the Society with prudence and success. Under his management the operations of the Society embraced a wider field and produced far greater results than ever before. The system of education which had from the first been conducted with energy and ability,

50 *Further Extension of the Society's Operations.*

was perfected. Uniformity of teaching was secured by the *Ratio Studiorum*, which Acquaviva composed ; the work of counteracting the reformation in Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the Netherlands, was continued in conjunction with the Catholic powers, who were almost invariably under the spiritual direction of a Jesuit ; France was secured by ties as strong as those which bound the order to Spain ; the most strenuous efforts were made for the recovery of England, Sweden, and Denmark ; the mission to China, which Xavier had desired to inaugurate, was successfully planted ; others penetrated into Afghanistan, and baptised the princes of Cabul ; and in America, the settlement of Paraguay, afterwards to become a real seat of empire, was made by the direct influence of the General.

The position of Acquaviva in the history of the Order, is as conspicuous as that of Loyola, and he is the only one in the list of Generals who can be placed in comparison with the founder. Yet the characters of the two are in striking contrast. Though both were of noble descent, their early career had nothing in common ; Loyola was a soldier whose whole life was coloured by the conception of duty ; Acquaviva, who had been brought up at the Roman Court, was essentially an astute diplomatist. While Loyola worked upon a few bold and simple conceptions, and carried out his purpose by sheer force of character,—often, perhaps, unconscious of the end at which he would arrive,—Acquaviva weighed every possibility carefully, and endeavoured to calculate the remotest

contingencies. His accession to power marks an important change in the character of the Society. He broke completely with some of its most cherished traditions. Hitherto Spain and Portugal had been the chief seats of Jesuit influence; and the weight of the Order had always been thrown into the scale of Spain as against France. Acquaviva, however, had no sympathies with that country: his family had been consistent supporters of France, and his policy was uniformly directed with a view to conciliate Henry IV. and his friends. The success of his schemes was remarkable. As Spain sank from the pre-eminence to which she had been raised by Charles V., and France became the foremost state of Europe, the French Jesuits grew rapidly in importance, and acquired the chief share in the education and the general ecclesiastical policy of the country.

At the same time the internal economy of the Order was to some extent changed; the management of colleges which had been formerly confined to the class of coadjutors was given to professed members; while many of the special functions of the professed were entrusted to the inferior grade.

The very success of the Order had made it impossible to preserve the spirit of the constitution. The number of members, the innumerable differences of circumstances, resulting from the wide area over which their labours were extended, could not be brought entirely under one law. The General could not thoroughly master the circumstances of more than a

52 *Relations of the Order of Jesus to the Civil Power.*

few of the principal provinces ; even Acquaviva was obliged to leave the direction of most matters practically in the hands of his assistants, and of the provincials. Thus the central authority which, according to the constitutions, was to be guided by the single will of the General, was practically divided. Local feeling and local traditions were developed, which led to the greatest variety in the mode of action, while still the advancement of the Order, as the chief upholder of the See of Rome, was steadily kept in view as the final object.

The great wars which succeeded the reformation cannot be disentangled from their connection with religion and politics ; and the position of the Jesuits in connection with them is subordinate to the general course of events. Even among the heathen nations of Asia, the Society always sought to strengthen its position by a connection with the ruling dynasties ; in Europe, its entire policy was pervaded by a desire to extirpate heresy in alliance with Catholic princes. The power of the Sovereign was to be used for the suppression of all public preaching of the reformed doctrines ; civil and military office was to be utilised as an inducement to support the Church.* The first duty of the confessor was to direct in this course the influence wielded by the ruler ; his next was to destroy the seeds of doubt and heresy by means of schools and colleges. Hence we constantly find the stream of the counter-

* Preaching and teaching did something, much more was effected by command, ordinances, and open force.—*RANKE* ii. 141.

reformation, of which the "Society of Jesus" was the guiding and animating spirit, running strongest where the ruling princes were in the Jesuit interest. The secular power crushed opposition, the work of the Jesuits was to prevent a return of the revolutionary doctrines at any future time.

In Ranke's History of the Popes, the steps by which the reformation lost ground in the whole of southern Germany are clearly shown. The whole picture which he draws proves the dependence of the Jesuits on the power of the sword. Thus when in 1580 the Archduke Charles introduced Jesuits into Austria, the protestants who then formed a decided majority of the people were subjected to every form of persecution. The Catholic reaction was vigorously carried on by means of wholesale confiscation, exile, and the sword. The example was followed wherever any existing power fell under the influence of the Order. Among the most zealous of these restorers of orthodoxy was the Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, who had been educated at the German College in Rome, under the auspices of the "Society of Jesus." Wherever his influence extended, no toleration was given to the protestants. Exile or recantation was the mildest alternative. Many of the towns, too, began to claim the right of purging out heresy; and even individual counts and nobles, and knights of the empire, who had put themselves under the spiritual direction of a Jesuit, asserted a similar claim, and undertook the resuscitation of Catholicism within their narrow sphere.

The elector of Mayence, John Adam von Bicker, who had been a student of the German College, crushed out Protestantism from Eichsfeld and Heiligenstadt with the utmost rigour; the Elector Lothair of the house of Metternich of Treves, and Bishop Theodore von Furstenburg at Paderborn are other examples. Bishop Julius, of Wurzburg, was especially remarkable for the activity of his zeal. In conjunction with the Jesuits, and especially Weller, it is said that he brought back to Catholicism in one year (1586) 6200 persons. It was Acquaviva's task to inform the Pope of the progress that had been made, and to receive the assurance of his approbation and gratitude.

But the two most illustrious pupils of the Jesuits were Ferdinand II. and Maximilian I., who accepted entirely the doctrines of the Jesuits as to the relation between the Church and the State. Backed by such supporters it was not strange that Jesuitism should have become a great power on the continent. The success of Acquaviva is sufficiently accounted for by an enumeration of the princes and nobles whose resources were at his command.

In thus entering into close alliance with the Catholic monarchs, however, there had been a corresponding loss of religious enthusiasm; and devotion to the Order with an ardent longing for political influence, and the power of the sword, usurped the place of the almost chivalrous self-denial for the sake of the whole Catholic Church which was exhibited at an earlier stage.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

THE instruction of the young was, along with the conversion of unbelievers and the hearing of confessions, one of the primary objects of the "Society of Jesus;" and continued, during the whole existence of the Order, to receive a large share of attention. How far the system adopted was suited to the requirements of man and of the age is a question that will require examination: there can be no question about the success of the Jesuits in bringing the education of Roman Catholic Europe under their influence.

It has been shewn that, at the death of Loyola, colleges of the Society had been founded in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Shortly afterwards, and especially during the generalship of Acquaviva, they were established at Vienna, Cologne, Prague, Ingoldstadt, and Munich, and their schools were in every important town of Germany, In France too, despite the opposi-

tion of the scholastic theologians, the Jesuits made good their position, and everywhere planted their schools.

The Jesuits were not the first to see how important was the direction of education, with reference to the struggle between the Papacy and the Reformation. Melancthon had followed Erasmus in maintaining the importance of the study of Greek; Neander at Ilfeld, Hieronymus Wolff at Augsburg, Sturm at Strasburg, had established centres of a liberal education. Their instruction was readily accepted, and their scholars naturally acquired Protestant tendencies. It was partly with the view of counteracting their influence that the Jesuit colleges and schools arose. There no difference either of method or of doctrine could be found. The *Ratio Studiorum* prescribed the rules by which all were directed. "They knew but one end, the interests of the Church; one sacred text, the Vulgate; one Breviary, the Roman; one will, their General's."*

Their ordinary curriculum was narrower than that of the Reformers, but within the limits appointed they were careful to teach thoroughly the subjects to which they confined themselves. For producing a high standard of "pure scholarship" especially, they gained a great reputation, their chief care being devoted to enable their pupils to write a good Latin style. The Bible was read in the Vulgate, though the lecturer made occasional references to the Septuagint and

* Parker's "Essay on the Liberal Education." p. 41.

Hebrew texts. Their ordinary text-book of divinity was the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. Even with regard to science and philosophy, so far as they were taught, submissive reverence for authority was carefully inculcated. In the study of style, the same deference to authority (and in this instance rightly) was displayed. To write Ciceronian prose in the manner of Muretus; and to compose Christiads, of which half the plan and nearly all the language were adapted from the *Æneid*, were the objects set up as the worthiest marks for a pupil's ambition.

The scholars of Sturm had been in the habit of acting the comedies of Plautus and Terence: the Jesuits substituted for the use of their schools a sort of sacred Latin drama, and moral plays in which "naughty boys, ghosts, drunkards, and devils, supplied the excitement necessary to please." They did not rest content with the drama alone. Music, dancing, and fencing were taught; and at the annual distribution of prizes, ballets composed by the teacher were performed by the most agile of the scholars.

Boarders as well as day-pupils were received at the schools of the Order; and every opportunity of acquiring their good-will and gratitude was turned to account. The teachers strove to make themselves familiar with the individual character of every boy under their instruction; and the better to effect this purpose, an organised system of mutual espionage was established throughout the school. By this means the whole inner life of the pupil was disclosed to his

teachers; who were thereby enabled to leave on his whole after-life the stamp which they designed to impress. Thus in all the Catholic countries of the continent, every grade of society was brought within the sphere of Jesuit influence, and that influence was uniformly made available for opposition to the spirit of innovation and liberty.

Under this system were educated the leading men of the greatest European states for more than a hundred and fifty years. The scholars of the Jesuits held the highest offices in the army and the cabinet of every Roman Catholic country; and their teachers succeeded in retaining the goodwill of nearly all who had been under their care. Even Voltaire dedicated one of his tragedies to the Jesuit Poree; and in the midst of his antagonism to all religious orders, betrayed marks of a lingering respect for the Society that gave him his early education.

The faults of the system are as plain as its attractiveness. The subordination of all branches of study to dogmatic theology, the constant reference to "authority" on scientific and philosophical questions, the inordinate importance attached to the form of expression as compared with the matter of knowledge, are striking and palpable faults; on the other hand, the universal popularity acquired by the Jesuit schools is a sufficient proof of their success in the narrow sphere to which they were confined. It is not surprising therefore to find directly contrary judgments passed upon them. Their rival Sturm regarded their system

with admiration, being influenced, doubtless, by its great similarity to his own. Their decided classical leaning was a character like that which most distinguishes his own method; and he welcomed them as fellow-workers in promoting the revival of learning. The praise which Bacon bestowed on them* is less easily explained. That he should assign to them the highest excellence seems to be most readily accounted for on the supposition that he was but imperfectly acquainted with their scheme of education: for its spirit was diametrically opposed to his own mode of thought. Scaliger on the contrary is unsparing in his condemnation. He maintains that the Jesuits taught only what they could turn to their own advantage, and asserts that they had no just pretensions to the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. He even charges them with the ruin of the once flourishing literature of Italy.† The opinion of Leibnitz is not unlike that of Scaliger: he deemed the Jesuits of his time below mediocrity, and regarded Bacon's praise as a complete mistake.

The actual results of the Jesuit system may, perhaps, be most clearly gathered from an examination of the contributions to literature and science which proceeded from the Society. The services of the Order in this department have generally been held to consti-

* *Consule scholas Jesuitarum: nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius.*—

De Augustinis, I., vi., 4.

† This charge seems to have been brought by others beside Scaliger. Tiroboschi, while admitting the fact of a decline in Italian literature, endeavours to exculpate his order by referring the decay of letters to more general causes.

tute a strong claim to the gratitude of modern scholars, and form one of the chief topics in all panegyrics of the Jesuits. They are mentioned with respect by Hallam; and no small proportion of the long list of writers drawn out by Voltaire to illustrate the literary splendour of the age of Louis XIV. is contributed by the "Society of Jesus."

If judged by a quantitative standard, the productions of the Jesuits can hardly be over-estimated. The number of their authors who treat of Casuistry, Law, Philosophy, Rhetoric, and History,—not to mention famous preachers and devotional writers—is so great, and their works are so voluminous that the life of man would not suffice for their perusal.

Yet among them all but few have left a permanent name in the History of Literature

The dust lies deep on the casuistry of Molina, Sanchez, and Escobar, who are now known only by the burning sarcasm of Pascal; the polemics of Bellarmine, though constantly alluded to by modern controversialists, are never read even by those who profess to quote; the chronology of Petavius is cast into the shade when compared with Newton, Ussher, and Scaliger, and scarcely gains a contemptuous notice from the historians of later times. Bourdaloue's Sermons are still read occasionally, but where are the rest of the preachers? Strada's History of the Revolt of the Netherlands is known only to the curious; Daniel's History of France is never honoured with a reference; Tiraboschi's Italian Literature is but the exception which proves the rule.

There are innumerable laborious compilations ; there is no sign of constructive originality, or of true historical insight. The dark shadow of a narrow dogmatism prevented the entrance of light from genuine Philosophy ; and we may seek in vain for a trace of scientific progress.

If the period of the Jesuits had been coincident with an age of intellectual stagnation, the inadequate results obtained from the labours of so many trained and ambitious authors might be attributed to the general causes by which the time was influenced. Facts, however, shew that position to be untenable ; for it was during the flourishing period of Jesuitism that Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Malebranche, Hobbes, and Locke produced the works by which they are immortalized ; De Thou, Davila di Sarpi, and Clarendon composed their histories ; Galileo, Boyle, Pascal, and Newton inaugurated the era of Modern Science. Not to mention the brilliant writers who ushered in the French revolution, and who in some cases owed to the Jesuits the rhetorical weapons with which they assailed the Order, the short lived and never numerous, school of Port Royal rendered more lasting service to literature and science than did the Jesuits during the whole period of their existence. Yet such was the reputation of the Order in all Roman Catholic Europe that it was able everywhere to obtain recruits of the most brilliant promise. The fault was not in the material ; it was the system of training that produced the result ;—a system perfectly calculated to

deck respectable mediocrity with the adornments of style and manner; but which damped effectually the fire of genius, and gave occasion to the taunt of Michelet, that Jesuitism has never produced a single great man.

Industrious, therefore, as were the Jesuits in their educational labours,—numerous as were their schools and colleges,*—we cannot join in the favourable verdict usually given. Yet it must be admitted that their schools performed with wonderful success the functions they were intended to discharge. The hold of the Church of Rome in Europe was maintained and strengthened by the teachings there given; the influence of the Society was secured by the affectionate sentiment of generations of men who had been brought up in its principles and under its guidance. More than this had not been desired by Loyola or Acquaviva. The modern view of human progress never occurred to their minds; the liberty of speculation which is necessary to its realization appeared, to their eyes, the direct source of irreverence and heresy. To that cause they ascribed those innovations in religion which they deemed it their mission to oppose and overthrow. They, therefore, necessarily desired to restrain the wanderings of the enquirer within the limits allowed by authority. They sought to arm men with weapons to be used in defence of their Church; they did not wish to give into their hands a sword which could be turned against it. Our judgment is therefore consistent with the views of

* The Jesuits at the destruction of the Order had 669 colleges.

those who founded the Jesuit scheme of education. It is not strange that a reactionary organization should fail to develop a forward movement; it would have been surprising, indeed, if the opponents of the freedom of individual thought had contributed new lights for the illumination of their age.

CHAPTER IX.

ASIATIC MISSIONS UNDER ACQUAVIVA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

DURING the generalship of Acquaviva, the Jesuits displayed no less activity among heathen nations than in the Christian world. The Indian missions were extended by the opportune tolerance and favour of Akbar Khan, under whose auspices the Jesuits gained an entrance into Lahore. He sent them a letter of invitation, declaring that "he had endeavoured to understand all the religions of the earth, and that now, by the help of the Fathers whom he respected and honoured, he wished to become acquainted with the Christian religion." The first missionary who went to his court in reference to the message was Geronimo Xavier, a nephew of the illustrious Francis. He arrived in 1595, and his labours were attended with speedy success. In 1599, an opportunity was given of shewing how great was the progress made by the

Society : at the public celebration of Christmas at the end of that year, a long train of catechumens, bearing palm-branches in their hands, walked in procession to church, and were there publicly baptized. Over the reigning family the missionaries gained great influence, and in 1610 three princes of the blood royal were formally admitted into the Church by baptism. The event was celebrated with all the pageantry of the East: the illustrious neophytes rode to church on white elephants, and were received by Father Geronimo with a flourish of trumpets. The change thus effected appeared for some time likely to be permanent: in 1621 a college was founded in Agra, and a station in Patna; and in 1624 the Emperor Dschehangir was expected to swell the number of converts. Yet this promising mission, like all the Indian churches founded by the Society, came to utter destruction;—a result due partly to the quarrel between the Missionaries and the Papacy, and partly to political revolutions.

Yet more important, however, was the extension of missionary enterprise to China.* After many had failed in the attempt to carry out Francis Xavier's grand project of converting that empire, Matthew Ricci, in 1600, succeeded in obtaining a footing during the reign of Wanlêe. His tact and prudence qualified him for the undertaking, and his success was equally remarkable with his qualifications. He was taken into

* The chief authority here followed with regard to the Chinese missions of the Jesuits is "The History of the two Tartar conquerors of China," by *D'Orleans &c. S. J*
—HAKLUTT SOCIETY.

66 *Expulsion of the Jesuits from China, and their subsequent return.*

the Emperor's service, and attended him at Peking, where a house was assigned to the mission; and before Ricci's death in 1610, he had the satisfaction of seeing the church which he had planted flourishing and rapidly extending its influence.

The converts were numerous, and many Mandarins were included among them. The prosperity of the Society however was not unmixed; indeed, it contributed to bring on a period of adversity. The chief authorities of the court of Peking became jealous of the foreign influence which was visibly growing, and persuaded Wanlêe to banish the Jesuits from the empire: an event to which the historians of the Society afterwards pointed, as the cause of all the miseries which befell the dynasty and the nation.

After the death of Wanlêe, an application made to the Portuguese by the Emperor Thien-hi (1622) for the assistance of persons skilled in the management of artillery, gave a fresh opportunity for the missionary enterprise of the Jesuits. Several members of the Society were sent in response to the Emperor's request, at the head of whom was the famous Adam Schall: nor was it long before they regained the position of which their predecessors had been deprived. They soon found themselves surrounded by converts, and began to raise churches.

The most flourishing period of the Society's missions in China was after the time of Acquaviva; yet for the sake of continuity it seems advisable here to describe in outline the changes through which they passed.

Until the Tartar invasion seemed likely to be successful, the Jesuits steadily maintained their place in the favour of the Ming emperors, especially on account of their scientific acquirements, in which they were infinitely superior to the native priests. When, however, there seemed a probability that the dynasty would fall, and the empire was divided between the Mantchou Tartars in the North, and the Ming Family in the South, they prudently secured their position by joining both sides. Cofler was with the Emperor Yunlié, of whom great hopes were entertained. "The prince himself was not far from the Kingdom of Heaven; his wife and son were baptized by the names of Helen and Constantine, and he had sent another Jesuit to Rome to give in his allegiance to the Vicar of Jesus Christ."* Yunlié, however, was defeated by the Tartars and put to death: Constantine shared his father's fate: Helen fell as a captive into the hands of the enemy. The ingenuity of Father Martini had meanwhile enabled him to ingratiate himself with the Tartars. On the news of their approach to his residence, he placed over his door an inscription "Here resides a doctor of the Divine law, come from the Great West."† In the vestibule he arranged a number of tables covered with everything likely to excite curiosity, and admiration—books, burning-glasses, telescopes; and "in the middle of it all he erected an altar, and placed upon it an image of the Saviour." The Tartars, as was natural, were much impressed, and "far from injuring anyone,

* D'Orleans, p. 24.

† D'Orleans, p. 25.

their chief sent for the Father, received him very favourably, and, unwilling to compel him to forsake the national dress, he asked him very frankly if he desired to have his hair cut off; as the Father made no opposition, he had it cut off in his presence."

It was not, however, till the Mantchou dynasty had gained secure possession of the empire that the influence of the Jesuits reached its highest point: when Adam Schall under Chunchi and Kang-hi enjoyed in its full extent the imperial favour. The chief part of the esteem in which both he and his younger colleague, Verbiest, were held, was due to their mathematical attainments; which were utilised in rectifying the calendar, and compiling the official almanack of the empire. Chunchi shewed the warmest interest in the affairs of the Jesuits, as the following extract from D'Orleans will shew:—"When they are sick he sends to visit them, and if they die, he takes upon himself the charge of ordering their funerals, which in China is one of the greatest marks of friendship that can be shewn. It is his wish, nevertheless, that all the ceremonies of Christianity should be therein observed; so that more than once we have seen their bodies carried from the house which they had occupied near the palace through the whole length of Pekin—a space of more than two leagues—to a distant place of sepulture with the cross elevated, and more than two thousand Christians walking two and two, with wax tapers in their hands as orderly as it would be done in the most Catholic city of Europe."

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to hear that converts were numerous: but on the death of Chunchi, the government fell into the hands of four regents hostile to the missionaries. Kang-hi, however, when he attained his majority in 1671 shewed them, if possible, even greater favour than his father had given them. The position of Verbiest at his court was one of great authority. He instructed the Emperor in mathematics, prepared the imperial almanack, and superintended the casting of artillery. Whether at Pekin, or engaged in hunting expeditions beyond the Great Wall, the Emperor always desired to have him by his side.*

The missions, during the whole reign of Kang-hi, continued to gain new accessions. In 1688 the number of native converts was estimated at three hundred thousand, and their annual increase at two thousand. Most of them, however, were from among the poor. "The great," we are told, "prefer their pleasure to all other considerations."

Great as was the measure of support received from the tolerant emperors of China, it did not satisfy the Jesuits. They were always seeking for an opportunity of tightening their hold on the country; and a conversation between Adam Schall and the Emperor Chunchi has been preserved, in which the Jesuit suggests the

* Verbiest freely acknowledges the kindness of his imperial master. "The emperor throughout our whole journey exhibited to us a benevolence and attention such as, in truth he displayed to no one else, not even of the princes, or his own kinsmen, and this both in word and deed in presence of the whole army."

expediency of aiding the Society with the secular arm. The Emperor having listened with admiration to an exposition of the decalogue, enquired if there were many converts who observed all its precepts. "We have rather a considerable number," said the Father, "and if some of them forsake their duty occasionally, it is because we are not supported here by the sovereign's authority as we are in Europe, where we can punish those who violate the law." The pious monarch whose conduct was thus held up for imitation was Louis XIV. ; but the tolerant spirit of the Chinese monarch prevented him from acting on the Jesuit's suggestion.

Rapid as the growth of the Chinese missions had been, and extraordinary as was their success if judged by the standard of numbers and court influence, the end proved that they did not rest on a firm foundation. In China, as in India, the jealousy of the Dominicans brought under the notice of the Pope the license allowed by the Society to its converts,—a license which, as they alleged, amounted to the open acceptance of a pantheistic religion in lieu of Christianity.* The

* In one of Voltaire's letters written to shew that the letters attributed to Ganganelli are spurious, the events which led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from China are ludicrously misrepresented. His account is as follows :—

"A Savoyard priest of the name of Maillard, who was educated at Rome, in the college of the Propaganda, was sent by Pope Clement XI. to China, in the year 1706, to give an account to the congregation of the Propaganda of a dispute between the Jacobins and the Jesuits about the meaning of two words in the Chinese language. Maillard took the name of Tournon, and very soon was appointed Apostolical Vicar in China. He was no sooner Apostle Vicar than he took it into his head that he understood the Chinese language better than the Emperor Camhy. He sent word to the Pope Clement XI. that the Emperor and the Jesuits were heretics."—GENUINE LETTERS OF VOLTAIRE—London, 1787. p. 244.

disputes extended from the Priests of the two Orders to their native converts: the emperor Yong-t-ching, who had succeeded Kang-hi, would not allow the peace of his empire to be broken for the sake of a quarrel among ecclesiastics. A suspicion, probably well founded, that the missionaries were in engaging in treasonable intrigues for the support of their respective interests, effected a complete revolution in the policy of the court. Jesuits and Dominicans alike were expelled from the empire or put to death; the "converts" speedily returned to the faith of their ancestors; and that rigorous system of isolation from European intercourse was inaugurated which has ever since found favour at Peking.

At the end of the *Siecle de Louis XIV.* there is, however, a tolerably good account of the Chinese transactions. With Maillard de Tournon's action in India, Voltaire does not seem to have been acquainted.

CHAPTER X.

THE JESUITS IN PARAGUAY.

THE operations of the "Society of Jesus" in the New World were carried on under quite different conditions from their missions in the East Indies. There they were under the protection, but at the same time partially under the control, of a colonial government, depending on a powerful European state, and they were also forced to modify their system by the presence of a long established and deep seated, though debased, civilization. But in Paraguay they found themselves in possession of all the powers of government; and their subjects had sufficient intelligence to be docile, but not to question or oppose the policy of their priestly rulers. The large American province, which the Spaniards had given without reserve into their hands, became accordingly the theatre in which the spirit of the Order had full scope to display itself, where willing subjects obeyed implicitly the behests of a beneficent spiritual timocracy,—the realised Utopia of Jesuitism.

The early American missions of the Jesuits appear to have been conducted on no fixed plan, and with moderate success. Men with the fresh enthusiasm and ungrudged self-devotion of Xavier wandered over the vast regions which had just become accessible to the religion and civilization of Europe, everywhere winning the hearts of the Indians by placing before them the simple and kindly teachings of the Gospel, while at the same time they tried to shelter them from the cruelty and rapacity of the Spanish soldiers.

They succeeded by these means in gaining numerous proselytes among the natives, but not without raising the jealousy of the other religious orders,—who were more intent on founding monasteries and cathedrals than on establishing Christianity in the hearts of the people,—and the active hostility of the adventurers, whose excesses they endeavoured to restrain. It was with Acquaviva that the scheme of concentrating the efforts of the Society on a single point, remote from opposition or rivalry, originated. The government of Spain readily sanctioned his project, and accordingly the immense and fertile region of Paraguay became the chief seat of the American missions of the Jesuits. The method there adopted for the conversion of Indians had nothing in common with the forcible means of torture and butchery which found favour with the Dominicans. By all the artifices of friendship and kindness, by relieving the needy and attending on the sick, the Jesuit missionaries speedily secured the affection and confidence of the simple-minded people.

That hatred and dread of the white man and his religion which had been produced by the reckless cruelty of early adventurers wore off, and the simple and peaceable character, which Columbus found among the Indians, was restored. They looked with childish admiration on the order and the art which pervaded the Jesuit settlement, they listened with admiration to the music of Europe, they were filled with awe as they saw the sick and wounded restored to health by medical skill. The result was a change in their mode of life, such as had never been produced among the aborigines of America by any other mission. They gathered around their benefactors, and left their life in the forests to live in regular communities. They learnt the art of tillage, and acquired a rude civilization. They gathered together to form a village, and the village grew quickly into a town of a thousand families—*Reduccion della Madonna di Loretto*.

Other settlements rapidly followed; and within 30 years from the commencement of the system, no less than 20 towns of equal size had sprung up, all built upon one regular plan,* and under one system of government. Every town was dedicated to a Saint, and in each the Curé and Vicar were supreme.

The Jesuits were the rulers and the physicians, as well as the priests of these communities. They tended the sick, they presided at festive meetings, they superintended the labours of the field, they dispensed

* Straight streets of equal width converging in a central square, where stood the church, the clergy-house, the arsenal, and the store-houses of the community.

justice to all. With their first disciples they had occasional difficulties, as some grew weary of their monotonous life and returned to the barbarism and freedom of the forests; but the generation which grew up under their influence was always submissive and obedient. Their unswerving fidelity was secured alike by their gratitude for early kindness, their admiration of superior force, will, and intellect, and their awe of a religion whose mysteries overpowered their minds. It was among these unquestioning subjects that the Jesuit system of government was fully organized,—a form of communism which stands unparalleled in history. Among the native population, no difference of dress, of dwelling, or of food, was allowed to excite the jealousy of another. Every one was trained to work in the province assigned to him. Every family was entrusted with the cultivation of a plot of ground, and with the manufacture of a fixed quantity of cotton or woollen cloth. The entire produce of this systematic labour was deposited in the common stores, and regularly distributed by the Jesuits in equal portions to every inhabitant. The surplus was partly exchanged for such European commodities as were needed for the community, and the remainder, after payment of a small poll tax to the king of Spain, became a source of enormous wealth to the “Society of Jesus.”

The industry of the community was carefully superintended; every hour of the day had its assigned occupation of work, devotion, or relaxation; and viola-

ters of the rules were visited with corporal punishment. This, however, had less deterrent power than the fear of the disfavour of the Fathers.

No one was permitted to leave the settlement without permission, and no strangers were allowed entrance. Money was unknown, and the only private property which a native could possess was derived from the produce of a small allotment of land assigned to each as an incentive to industry.

Under all this rigid monotony of a paternal despotism the forms of a popular government were established. Each community elected its own officers by universal suffrage from the native population, who under high sounding titles, like *Corregidor* and *Alcalde*, carried out implicitly the directions of their real governors the Jesuits.

The Paraguayan communities were not left under the protection of inoffensive virtue only. The arsenal was in every town one of the public buildings ; and on the afternoon of every Sunday and Saints' day the able-bodied population were trained to military exercises. The discipline thus maintained produced an army sufficient for defence against all dangers, and able, as was often proved, to repel every attack proceeding from the barbarous tribes without.

It was the condition of the native mind, ready to copy and to obey, but incapable of constructing or even of criticising, which enabled the Jesuits to obtain this perfect ascendancy ; by which they moved all the spring of action, and directed the organization of their subjects

with the unvarying regularity of a machine. The same low state of intelligence prevented the people from advancing far in the knowledge of Christianity. For a long time no native convert was allowed to advance beyond baptism ; and never, probably, did any enter into the Christian views of sin and of contrition ; or experience that inner conflict of self and of self-devotion,—of the passions, and of love to God,—which constitutes so important a part of the Christian life on earth. The Indians of Paraguay doubtless received from their teachers as much of Christianity as they were capable of accepting, and they had no deeply-seated previous superstitions to necessitate the plan of compromise adopted in Hindustan.

It is true the charge of erroneous teaching was brought against the Jesuits there as elsewhere, but the complaints of Cardenas and Palafox seem founded on a misapprehension of the state of the native intelligence, and may possibly have been caused, in part by petty motives of jealousy. Some of the Popes, too, shewed themselves unfriendly to the missions, but they were the same who had quarrels with the Society on other grounds, and their means of information were not to be relied upon. On the whole it appears that the government of Paraguay was beneficial, and the firmness of its basis is shewn by the fact that the Jesuits retained their hold on the country by the power of justice and prudence, until they were expelled by the violent action of European powers.

78 *Destruction of the Paraguayan Missions.*

The destruction of this,—their most successful field of action, and their most lucrative possession,—was a blow to their influence, and a great step towards their total overthrow.

CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH PERIOD: ORGANIC DECAY.

AMONG the thirteen successors of Acquaviva, we in vain look for a name that is worthy to serve as a landmark of history. Henceforward, as far as the generals are concerned, the Order merely vegetates. It is active enough throughout the world; but the unity required by the constitutions is little more than nominal. France became as important as Spain had originally been in the affairs of the Society; and between the Jesuits of the two countries there was a constant feud, though they were always ready to unite against a common enemy. Had either nationality been able to carry the election of a general from their number, it is possible that the division of sentiment in the Order might have been suppressed. Their strength, however, was so evenly balanced that each side had the power to exclude the rival's nominee, but was unable to carry its own. Hence, among the whole list there is not a

single Frenchman, and, as has been already remarked, but one Spaniard.

The office was (perhaps on principle) filled by men whose mediocre powers were a guarantee that they would not become obnoxious, and it necessarily lost its traditional value.

The real head of the Order was the confessor royal of France, who was generally able to direct the conscience and the conduct of the greatest sovereign of Europe. When Henry IV. recalled the Jesuits and appointed one of them to be always in attendance on the king as surety for the rest, he paved the way for all the future political influence of the Society in France. The priest thus necessarily attached to the court became almost as a matter of course the king's confessor; and thus what had been designed as a penalty became the greatest privilege of the Order. From the reign of Henry IV. to the regency of Choiseul, it was uninterruptedly enjoyed; and a glance over the outline of French internal history during that period will indicate how the confessor's power was used.

All enemies of the Order were liable to be seized under the authority of a *lettre-de-cachet* at any moment, without even the form of a trial before Inquisitors. It was not, however, by a single step that the royal confessors arrived at that pitch of power which came immediately before their fall. Lachaise first used the whole weight which his position gave him to crush the Calvinists. Letellier threw off all

disguise, and his greatest triumphs were not over Protestants, but over the Jansenists of Port Royal. Complete as was the Jesuits' victory over their opponents in that contest of religious philosophy, the blows which they received in their reputation during the conflict were amongst the premonitory symptoms, though they were certainly not the cause, of the decline and fall of the Society. The attacks of Pascal and Arnauld were dictated by desperation; but they would have fallen harmless on their object if they had not been made against an indefensible position.

The Jesuit intrigues of the seventeenth century seem mainly to have been under the management of the French members of the Society: and the manner in which they succeeded in impressing their views on the royal family of England during the protectorate of Cromwell, shews that the scheme of influencing nations by means of converted kings was still cherished among them. If Cretineau's authority may be taken, there was an actual agreement between Louis and Charles II. for the forcible re-introduction of the Roman Catholic creed into England; and certainly the friendship between James II. and the Jesuit Petre, or Peters, is an indication of the gratitude with which the last Stuart king regarded those who persuaded him to change his faith. During those transactions, the habitual caution of the Jesuits was curiously absent: indeed the Jesuits in the French interest encouraged the wavering monarch to the decided measures which

cost him his throne, while the Pope's legate was counselling circumspection and delay.

Notwithstanding the bold but unsuccessful effort on England, the seventeenth century is not one in which Jesuit transactions form much of the history which comes before the world. The Order was growing richer and more numerous: but its operations and its results did not show a corresponding increase. Always retaining what had been won, always seeking to recover what had been lost, the Order grew in bulk, with an appearance of health which was entirely fallacious. The decay of the central authority shewed that the organization was no longer capable of harmonious action; and the political influence of the French confessors became a cause of far more hostility than glory to their Order.

Notwithstanding the external appearances of prosperity, the period was really one of rapid organic decay.

In the first age of Jesuitism, when the companions of Loyola joined together for a struggle with the advancing columns of the Reformation, their scanty numbers were more than compensated by the energy and enthusiasm of every member of the Society. They found a sufficient reward for their exertions in the restored influence of the Church of Rome, and cared little or nothing for personal distinction. The honours of the Mitre and the Cardinal's hat, which were the chief object of ambition to the members of other orders, they did not care to obtain; they even refused them

on principle. Thus we find the Cardinalate declined by Lainez and Borgia, and a bishopric by Le Jay, during the life of Loyola; and the cases of Bellarmine and Tolet are quite exceptional. The post of danger, and of obscurity, was the post of honour; and the self devotion of Xavier in India was matched, if not exceeded, by many of his brethren who laboured in the protestant countries of Europe.

The position of confessor to a zealous supporter of the Popedom like Philip II., or Margaret of Palma, was doubtless one that most ecclesiastics would envy; but the early Jesuits sought with greater eagerness to penetrate into the countries where the Reformation had taken the firmest hold,—into Sweden and England. Thus Campian and Parsons who came over to England under Elizabeth, in the hope of restoring the old faith, were constantly in peril of their lives, yet there were numerous candidates for the honour of being sent on that dangerous mission. The general of the Order determined all his policy with a view to the rooting out of heresy, and all the inferior members of the Society were ready to be moved at his will, in accordance with their constitutions *perinde ac si cadavera essent*. When a rich and noble candidate like Borgia applied for admission to the Society, he could gain entrance only by seeking it as a favour, and submitting to all the regulations binding on others, to their fullest extent. He had to divest himself of all his personal advantages, of his family connections as well as of his estate, in order to become a mere unit in the Society,

and to be absorbed in its organization, and identified with it. The magnitude of the task which the Society undertook, was sufficient to satisfy the ambition of all its members. It was honour enough in their eyes to have a share, however humble, in an enterprise so vast and so glorious. The will and the hopes of the individual merged entirely in the Order to which he belonged.

As, however, the wealth of the Society increased, as its fame became spread throughout the world, and its provincial officers began to receive honours almost amounting to veneration, a change somewhat akin to that which had sapped the vitality of the older orders began to appear. Difficulty and poverty had kept alive the spirit of self-devotion : riches and honours developed the latent germs of personal interest and ambition. Hence while the rest of the order who were doing battle against the Reformation in its strongholds, and supporting the cause of Rome where it showed signs of weakness, remained faithful to their abnegation of self and devotion to the Society ; the Jesuits of Spain, who had complete ascendancy in the country, grew restive at the election of a General from another province, and even threatened a secession. The firmness and prudence of Acquaviva were successful in obviating the danger and restoring unity ; but the temporary conflict was the sign of a malady which might eventually prove fatal.

As the condition of Europe became settled, and the organization of the Jesuits, where it had scope to

operate, was deprived of the discomfort and stimulus of effective opposition, the spirit which had first displayed itself in Spain became more general. Personal and national motives were brought into play, and at the same time the bonds of the central authority were proportionally relaxed. The change was easily perceptible; the remedy was not obvious, and Vitelleschi bitterly lamented the degeneration which he found himself unable to stay.

The riches and celebrity of the Society brought within its compass a large number of members from noble, and even royal, families. It seemed too much to require of them that they should submit to the strict regulations of the noviciate, and the rules were accordingly relaxed. When members of the great houses of Lorraine, Montmorency, Orsini, Medina-Sidonia, and Cassimir of Poland, were enlisted in the Society, they conferred upon it an adventitious splendour, but at the cost of that strict uniformity of discipline which had contributed so largely to its early successes.

When, moreover, the missions and schools of the Society had ceased to be its most conspicuous and distinguishing features; when the confessional had been proved capable of being converted into a potent weapon for political action; when the strictly religious element had become subordinate to the quasi-diplomatic, the position of confessor to a powerful monarch was continually elevated, at the cost of the central authority, until Annat, Le Chaise, and Letellier, acquired an influence practically greater than that of the General

or even of the Pope. Hence it is no error to regard the gain of direct political weight, and the accumulation of enormous wealth, as fatal to the healthy action of the organization, and as prognostics of its coming end.

The change in the personal bearing of the leading Jesuits betrayed the loss of that self-denial and zeal which had earned for their predecessors all the triumphs of the sixteenth century. The founders of the Order had been really, though not ostentatiously, ascetics; their later successors proved themselves ostentatiously luxurious. Pere le Chaise used to appear in public with a coach and six: the life of Oliva was spent in almost Sybarite voluptuousness.* It is worthy of notice that the elaborate system of training for the Order did not reproduce men of the stamp of Loyola, Lainez, or Acquaviva. The four first generals of the Order had become Jesuits after their character had been formed in the world, and were inspired by devotion alone. The successors of Acquaviva who had generally been subjected from childhood to Jesuit influences, were far inferior both in mental and moral qualifications for government. No stronger proof could be given that artificial devices fail to supply the want of an inner and spontaneous determination, and that there is no preservative against the natural process of decay in institutions as in individuals.

Though at last the fatal blow came from without on the "Society of Jesus," it did not fall before internal

* Gioberti III., p. 229, gives details, with perhaps some little exaggeration.

changes had corrupted the life-blood of the Order, and nearly every vestige of its original character had been obliterated by time and luxury.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FALL.

CARVALHO, Marquis de Pombal, whom the Jesuits blame as the one cause of their fall, had been brought up under the auspices of the Society; and until the time of his actual display of deep antagonism had kept up the appearance of friendliness. It is not unlikely that having risen in some degree by Jesuit aid, he was impatient under the conviction that they would require his services in return. As a statesman, however, he had good cause to seek the extinction of the Society on public grounds alone.

The treaty of 1750, by which, among other conditions, the region of Paraguay was ceded by Spain to Portugal was regarded by the Jesuits as a wrong to themselves. They had so long ruled the country that they had learned to regard it as their own; and when European troops came to make a formal transfer of the land, the military training which had been given to all

the inhabitants of the Reduccions was utilized against them. For nearly four years from the first appearance of the Commissioners charged with the execution of the Treaty, the opposition was maintained by the armed Indians, who were not afraid to meet the Europeans in battle. They went in regular order, attended by artillery; and so skilful were their plans as to induce the Portuguese General, Gomez Freire, to remark that if the Indians had conceived them, they must have learned military tactics more than their catechism.

There can be no doubt but that the Jesuits were the real directors of the war, as the Indians were perfectly obedient to all their commands; but the Order succeeded in escaping from any immediate ill results beyond the destruction of their most flourishing mission. This armed resistance to the Portuguese government on the part of an institution which had received enormous wealth and valuable privileges at the hands of the nation was, however, a sufficient warning that future hostility would arise; and Pombal only waited to establish his influence on a firm basis before making his assault on the institution. There was ample room for accusation. The charge brought was that of engaging in trade, contrary to the principles of ecclesiastical law. The Pope (Benedict XIV.) granted a commission of enquiry: but the accession of Clement XIII. saved the Jesuits from the reform which was otherwise inevitable, and thereby ensured their complete destruction in the end.

Pombal was merely put off for a time, his purpose remained, and an attempt to assassinate the King gave him a pretext for charging the Jesuits with the offence. Whether they were guilty or innocent can never, probably, be ascertained: certainly the trial was conducted with a complete disregard of all the rules of justice. Pombal, however, declared that the Order was implicated, and on that pretext expelled every one of its members from Portugal.

Other countries soon followed their example. Madame de Pompadour had an old grudge against the King's confessor; and Choiseul, who had no passionate likes or dislikes, willingly joined Pombal in seeking the destruction of the Order. The Jansenist controversy had left the Jesuits without standing ground in public opinion, and to oppose their influence was the surest way to popularity.

The refusal of Ricci, the General, to allow of such reforms as would have made the institution more national in its spirit, combined with the popular hatred of the Society, which had been greatly increased by the notorious insolvency of Lavallette, decided the event. The edict of the Parliament of Paris expelled them from the country, and confiscated their property to the value, according to Cretineau, of 58,000,000 francs.

Only three years after, came the expulsion of the Order from Spain, with circumstances of even greater hardship than that of France or Portugal. On a single day, more than six thousand Jesuits, many of them old and infirm, were placed, without notice, on shipboard,

and transported for Italy. For reasons of policy they were refused a landing successively at Civita Vecchia, at Leghorn, and at Genoa. Only after tossing for six months on the waves, were they allowed to disembark at Corsica.

The process still went on, two other Bourbon princes, the King of Naples and the Duke of Parma, followed the example which had been set, and drove the Society from their dominions.

The Pope, who had a strong attachment to the Order, was persuaded by Ricci to declare the forfeiture of the estates of the Duke of Parma, who was supposed to be too weak to resent the insult. The only result, however, was the loss of some of the Papal dominions. For while Avignon was seized by France, Pontecorvo and Benevento were occupied by the King of Naples.

The death of Clement XIII. deprived the "Society of Jesus" of its last protector; and the influence of the House of Bourbon was strong enough in the college of cardinals to carry the election of Ganganelli, who was pledged to abolish the Order. When elected, however, the new pontiff, who had assumed the title of Clement XIV., hesitated to carry out his undertaking. The pressure of the princes to whom he owed his position was, however, too strong to be opposed long. They could not believe themselves safe so long as the "Society of Jesus" had a recognised corporate existence, and insisted on its abolition. Despite the pontiff's pleas for delay, he was at last obliged, on the 23rd July, 1773, to subscribe the bull "*Dominus ac redemptor noster*," by which the Order was dissolved.

The bull itself describes at length the privileges conferred upon the Jesuits at various times, the complaints which had been made against them by princes, and their many offences of insubordination to the Holy See, concluding with the most emphatic assertion of the judgment by which all former privileges given to the Order by the popes are annulled, and the members are released from their vows.

This rapid sketch of the final chapter in the history of the Society would prove, if any further proof were needed, that the individual action of Choiseul, of Pombal, and of Squillace, is not to be regarded as all-important in connection with the downfall of the Society. The general opinion of Europe had already condemned the system as an anachronism, and the mode by which it should pass out of being was comparatively unimportant. The event had long been sure to come, and was only the natural consequence of the course through which the Order had passed.

There was one way, and one way only, in which it might have gained a new lease of existence; and that would have been to have adopted such reforms as were demanded by the public opinion of the age. Such a course, however, would have required a far more able man than the later days of Jesuitism could boast. A Lainez or an Acquaviva might have found means to adapt the organization to the time; but Ricci was unable to devise any way of escape. *Sint ut sunt aut non sint* was the only language which he could bring himself to use; and the words were, in effect, a judg-

ment of condemnation. Though all the circumstances were changed, the constitutions of the Society might not be altered to correspond; it remained only to destroy it as an obsolete and noxious institution.

The Order had played its part in the history of the world; it had raised up, by a necessary recoil of thought and feeling, the spirit of criticism and free enquiry before which it fell; and assuredly its fall could not have been delayed beyond the epoch of the Revolution, when the ideas which were its direct opposite made themselves felt with power. The probability is that if Jesuitism had survived till the final collapse of the old order of Europe, it would have dragged down the Papacy with it to ruin.

There is nothing inconsistent with this view in the fact that despite the bull of dissolution, a shadow of the old Order remained in Prussia, Poland, and England; or that the "Society of Jesus" was afterwards restored to most of its former privileges. The remnant that remained may be fitly compared with the emigrant noblesse of France, who remained to the last unable to comprehend the cause of their ruin. The renewed Order is not identical with that suppressed in 1773, except in name. It has certainly endeavoured to associate itself with the traditions of the older Society, as it was in the days of Loyola and Xavier,—an effort beyond the conception of later Jesuits; but it has its own plans of action modified to suit the altered condition of the world. Its activity has doubtless been displayed in the political and ecclesiastical history of

our time ; but it is an activity which is that of a new and not of an old society. It is successful, doubtless, as an imitation, but the fact that it is a conscious imitation is in itself sufficient to stop its claims to identity. The world's history does not move in a circle, and a reaction cannot reproduce the old.

THE END.



